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provide the labourers with three meals of rice. Labour is engaged mainly in the planting and harvest seasons, and even large farms do not have hired hands permanently on the pay roll. A farm of forty *mu*, or about seven acres, which is large in the Ta Li region, would pay out not more than fifty dollars nickel in the year or about 12*s*. To which must be added the rice for the labourers' meals.

Taxation in Yunnan is light. The land tax and a tax on slaughtering animals are the only direct taxes paid by the people. The newly introduced income tax, first collected in 1938, only applies to the salaries of government officials and teachers, who can ill afford to pay it, and to merchants whose income exceeds 10,000 National Dollars per annum. There are none in this category at Ta Li. The land tax is levied only on cultivated land, and was formerly graded into three categories, applied to the best, medium, and poor land. In 1938 this was changed to a flat rate applied to all cultivated land without distinction. Collected in two equal instalments twice annually, the old tax was as follows:

| *Grade* | *Tax per mu* | *Sterling equivalent* |
|---|---|---|
| Best land | 4.00 dollars nickel | One shilling (6.0*s*. an acre) |
| Medium land | 3.00 ,, ,, | ninepence (4*s*. 6*d*. an acre) |
| Poor land | 2.00 ,, ,, | sixpence (3*s*. 0*d*. an acre) |

The new system requires a flat rate of 2.40 dollars nickel from all land. This is also collected in two equal instalments at the end and in the middle of the year.

This new rate is about equivalent to sevenpence half-penny per *mu*, which being very much lower than the old rate of a shilling on the best land, and not a very great increase over the old rate of sixpence on the worst, would

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suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. os *od*., would thus have paid £0 11*s*. 3*d*. in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about 1*s*. 2*d*. ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or 2*s*. 3*d*. Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig arises. For minor festivities pork can be bought in the city or at a market, thus the butchering tax falls mainly on the professional butchers of the city who cater for a steady market.

It is inevitable that with such small margins of ready cash available, the Min Chia farmer is often obliged to contract debts. A wedding, or a funeral, involves expenses for which there is no provision possible unless by borrowing money or mortgaging land. As the rates of interest are very high it is often impossible for the debt to be discharged when due,

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divided into groups of five families who are mutually responsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

This system gives the government information and places responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state. It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas. 462 463

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu. 285

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials. 231 476

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given. 651

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials. [441] [463] [583] 436

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 439 237

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese gover-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a ninefold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

376 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

2: Rock K-5 (1934- ) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 S ST 651 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

"The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the S ST 101 Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

"There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173 *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).* — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠坡.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a 302 sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan 191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct 631 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a 622 Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST It is curious how little impression the civilisation and 177 customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will